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INTENSIVE INDIVIDUALIZATION OF TEACHER PREPARATION.

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THIS ANECDOTAL REPORT PRESENTS SOME EXPERIENCES OF THE STUDENT TEACHERS WHO TOOK PART IN A PROJECT DEVISED TO FIND WAYS TO PREPARE STUDENT TEACHERS TO BE READY TO LEARN TO TEACH AT THE BEGINNING OF THEIR STUDENT TEACHER PERIOD INSTEAD OF AT THE END. "THE PERSONALITY, TEACHER EDUCATION, AND TEACHER BEHAVIOR RESEARCH PROJECT" COMBINED A RESEARCH STUDY AND A DEMONSTRATION PROJECT INTO ONE PROGRAM THAT WAS CONDUCTED AS PART OF THE REGULAR, ONGOING OPERATIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS. THE PROJECT SOUGHT TO DEVISE WAYS OF USING GROUP THERAPY TECHNIQUES TO MEET THE CONCERNS OF PROSPECTIVE TEACHERS AND TO HELP THEM COPE WITH THEIR PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT TASKS. THREE KINDS OF PROCEDURES WERE USED--COUNSELING, INSTRUCTIONAL, CONSULTATIVE. INDIVIDUAL COUNSELING ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS OFFERED PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSISTANCE TO THE PROSPECTIVE TEACHERS. GROUP COUNSELING WAS TRIED AND THEN REPLACED WITH A COUNSELING-ORIENTED EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY COURSE ACCOMPANIED BY JUNIOR-YEAR OBSERVATION AND TEACHING. TEST INTERPRETATION WAS MADE AVAILABLE TO ALL PROSPECTIVE TEACHERS. ASSESSMENT INSTRUMENTS WERE DEVISED TO ASSESS THE PERSONALITY AND MENTAL HEALTH OF THE STUDENTS AT VARIOUS POINTS. ALL PARTICIPANTS IN THE STUDY, STUDENTS, COUNSELORS, PSYCHOLOGISTS, INSTRUCTORS, AND COOPERATING TEACHERS WERE TESTED, FILMED AND EVALUATED. AT THE TIME OF REPORTING, DIFFERENT KINDS OF FEEDBACK FROM TEST INTERPRETATIONS, FILMS, AND COUNSELING WERE BEING STUDIED. FUTURE RESEARCH IS PLANNED TO SEE IF TEACHERS CAN APPLY THE DEVELOPED THERAPY TECHNIQUES IN THE CLASSROOM TO HELP THE GROWTH OF NONDISTURBED CHILDREN. THIS IS A REPORT TO BE PUBLISHED AS A CHAPTER IN THE 1967 YEARBOOK OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR STUDENT TEACHING. (AL)

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INTENSIVE INDIVIDUALIZATION OF TEACHER PREPARATION[1]

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Almost everyone who will ever occupy a bed in a mental hospital was once in some teacher's first grade. So was every physicist and poet, every healer, murderer, pusher and priest. Through the hands and minds and feelings of teachers pass all our children. In the face of such opportunity, what is the teacher's task in mental health? What, in fact, is mental health? How can a researcher or a teacher think about mental health?

Mental health can be thought of as subjective well being, as feeling good. But many great men did not feel good and were often racked by pain both physical and psychic.

Is mental health the absence of unconscious conflict, something a psychologist must define? No, it is not, for too often productive, functioning men produce the same projective test protocols as hospitalized psychotics.

Mental health then is more than the absence of illness, more than well being, more even than joyfulness. We have conceived of it here as the developing capacity to cope. In behavior, it is successive hypothesis testing; marshalling one's resources to make a guess, trying out the guess, listening for results, using the results as new information to make a new guess, then trying that out. Mental health is this kind of going on as opposed to giving up.

The teacher's job in mental health is to expand each child's ability to cope. How can she do that? This is one way:

> The student teacher and her supervisor had watched and discussed the short sound film of the student teacher teaching. The supervisor asked why one boy brightened up after an inaudible conversation with the student teacher. The student teacher said, "He hardly ever takes an interest. Everyone's about given up on him. I walked back to his table because he was drawing something while the class was doing arithmetic. He said the drawing was a test tube. We'd had a science lesson that morning, and I could hardly believe it,

[1]This research was carried out under NIMH grant #2M6635 and is being continued under USOE grant #OE3-10-032 in the Personality Teacher Education and Teacher Behavior Project. Initiators of the research were Carson McGuire and Robert F. Peck. Director of both projects has been Robert Peck, associate director Oliver H. Bown, school administrator M. K. Hage, principal, Highland Park School, Austin, Texas, research associate Herbert G. Richek.

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but he must have gotten interested in the test tubes.'

The supervisor asked her, 'What did you do?'

'Oh, I gave him a bigger piece of paper.'

Sometimes a teacher can help a child develop the ability to cope by seeing the child's act as it is meant, by getting behind his eyes. A psychotherapist might smile about the symbolism of the test tube and the teacher's easy encouragement of a small boy's wanting to enlarge it. But all that can be skipped; this teacher did not need to know that impotence and underachievement are hypothesized to be related. She did know that a child can start to want to learn to cope; a simple act can help; the act can be as homely as giving him a bigger piece of paper.

Sometimes a supervisor can help a <u>teacher</u> develop her ability to cope.

The student teacher had been talking steadily. 'I'm doing just what I said I'd do, talk, talk, talk, talk, talk. A motor mouth. How can I quit it?'

'Why try to quit? Could you make your talking more effective?' (Silence) 'Don't talk less. Make it better.' (Silence)

'I never thought of that.' (Long silence)

Just as the test tube found a bigger piece of paper, so the "motor mouth" might find a "bigger piece of paper," too - a larger scope instead of a smaller tongue. She might be helped to make both her talking and her listening more effective rather than to be advised to quit talking, which she probably couldn't do even if she tried. More important perhaps than the talking symptom, is someone's attempt to improve, rather than eliminate a part of her. Having experienced, herself, acceptance aimed at enhancing her ability to cope, she may be better able to accept limitations in others, to appreciate rather than eliminate children's differences, to enlarge, not dessicate, their powers.

This then was how we defined the construct "mental health": guessing, revising, re-guessing and going on, coping.

APPLYING KNOWLEDGE TO PRACTICE

Concerned primarily with the application of psychological insights, the Texas project emphasized discovering and demonstrating practical, day-to-day ways to implement widely accepted psychological formulations in an ongoing undergraduate program of teacher preparation.

To measure the effects of these procedures, a research plan paralleled the demonstration. Detailed observations such as verbatim transcripts described what happened when procedures were tried. This information about the procedures and their effects was fed back to those devising the methods and trying them out, to instructors, university supervisors, psychologists, and all other participants. On the basis of this information, some procedures were eliminated or revised and new ones were

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devised in a kind of leapfrog succession.

This complex co-existence of research and demonstration meets a need for research which bridges the gap between controlled laboratory studies on one hand and general practice in the classroom on the other. It also makes reporting voluminous and complex. Hence, not all methods tried can be recounted in this limited space. Emphasis will be given to the threads which survived rather than those which faded. This will include the psychological formulations which were selected for application to teacher preparation, the procedures used to implement these formulations, and the new directions and procedures still emerging. The research and measurement aspects of the project are described elsewhere.[2]

PSYCHOLOGICAL FORMULATIONS

The Depth-Breadth Approach

One initial orientation of the Texas project was a developmental-social psychological approach to teacher education contributed by the project's director, Robert F. Peck. Peck pioneered what might be called a "depth-breadth" approach to individualizing teacher preparation. In this approach, whole populations are studied first through depth analysis of individuals.[3,4] From these laboriously derived "hand-made" models, mass procedures are devised which are feasible on a larger scale. One direction this is taking is Peck's current research into machine scoring of projective data. To take the simplest example, sentence completion tests usually analyzed clinically can be limited to one word responses and this one word scored for communality by noting how many other students responded with the same word. Another direction is Peck's current attempt to specify through computer simulation how human assessors doing depth analysis reach their conclusions.[5]

The Insights of Psychotherapy

Another orientation was akin to that described by Carl Rogers in this

[2]Robert F. Peck, Oliver H. Bown and Donald J. Veldman, "Mental Health in Teacher Education," the Journal of Teacher Education, V: 319-27, September, 1964.

[3]Robert F. Peck, "Personality Patterns of Prospective Teachers." Journal of Experimental Education, 1960, (Dec) 29, 169-175.

[4]Robert F. Peck, Student Mental Health: The Range of Personality Patterns in a College Population. In Personality Factors on the College Campus, The Hogg Foundation for Mental Health, The University of Texas, 1962, 161-199.

[5]Robert F. Peck and Donald J. Veldman, An Approach to Psychological Assessment by Computers, Research Memorandum No. 13, Mental Health in Teacher Education, The University of Texas, November, 1961.

present volume "What Psychology Has to Offer to Teacher Education." This was akin to the viewpoint which Oliver H. Bown, the project's associate director and a student of Rogers', brought to Texas. From this Rogerian beginning arose the project's initial counseling program and the psychological consultation services which evolved from it.

Basic Premises

Five premises stemmed from these two viewpoints.

The first was that the teacher's primary job is to maximize significant or experiential learning in students, i.e., learning which makes a difference in the individual's behavior.

A second premise was that teachers teach far more than just intellectual content in their total interactions with students. Students learn from teachers attitudes and ways of responding which comprise part of their ability to cope, but which teachers may not be conscious of teaching. Whether there is, in the strict sense, incidental, i.e., unintentional, learning is an as yet unanswered question.[6] There seems to be little doubt, however, that there is incidental teaching. To adapt an adage, oftimes what teachers <u>are</u> speaks so loudly that students cannot hear what they say.

A third premise was that changing what the teaching does involves more than changing what the teacher does. If changes are to occur in what teaching does, i.e., in students' experiential learning, changes need to occur in teachers too, in how they think, feel and respond, as well as in what they know, in short, in their, the teachers', experiential learning. If this is so, the teacher preparation institution's primary job is to maximize experiential learning for prospective teachers.

A fourth premise was that selected psychological assessment techniques can be helpful in understanding prospective teachers as individuals.

A fifth premise was that personal growth is facilitated by the presence of a serious meaningful problem and by a therapist who is congruent, accepting and empathically understanding. Ways were sought to create for prospective teachers (and ultimately for children who are their students) a climate with the same meaning that a therapeutic climate, a climate facilitating personal growth, holds for clients. The therapeutic skills of listening, of discovering the client's concerns and perceptions, and of empathizing can contribute to the creation of such a climate in the classroom.

PSYCHOLOGICAL PREMISES AND ADMINISTRATIVE DECISION

Six fundamental decisions regarding operation of the project were based on these premises.

[6] Barry McLaughlin, "Intentional" and "Incidental" Learning in Human Subjects. <u>Psychological Bulletin</u>, Vol. 63, No. 5, May, 1965, 359-376.

First, the ecology was allowed to vary naturally.

As a result, this was not a showroom demonstration. It did not take place in a laboratory, but was, instead, a part of the regular ongoing operations of the College of Education of The University of Texas. Student teachers were not segregated into special demonstration schools, but were scattered through many public schools. Available university faculty taught regularly offered courses. In brief, the facilities and personnel employed were "old." Only the applications of ideas and the attempt to assess and feed back the effects of this applications were new.

To preserve the seriousness and meaningfulness of the problem for faculty, investigators and consultants, the areas to which applications were made were selected on the basis of probable fruitfulness, rather than ease of operation. We reminded ourselves regularly of the story of the inebriate who dropped his key on his dark front porch but went out into the street to look for it because the light was better. The impulse to search out in the lighted street was resisted. The dark porch was the melee of university registration rather than the quiet orderliness of preselection, the colorful diversity of working school principals rather than the comforting sophistication of one research oriented administrator, the fervent hopefulness and hot hostility of student teachers who played for real; the mess and tangle, hell and heaven of getting in where people really lived, without the aseptic protection of "research," i.e., the implication that it's safe because it's make believe. In every instance elegance succumbed to ecological reality. This decision was made not only to preserve the meaningfulness of the problems for participants, but because it was hoped it would increase the probability of discovery and the generalizability of findings.

Second, mental health was not added as another subject to either the school day or the university curriculum. Instead, personal growth of individual prospective teachers was the focus. What is believed to foster personal growth was practiced. The goal was to imbue the teaching of teachers with the elements believed to encourage experiential learning.

Third, provisions were made for the personal growth and therapy of the teachers of prospective teachers, i.e., of their professors and university supervisors, on the assumption that mental health is conveyed by professors to prospective teachers more by example than by precept, just as it is by teachers to pupils.

Fourth, psychologists assigned as consultants had had experience in psychotherapy and had demonstrated ability to establish the climate in which experiential learning, as defined here, is possible. For them also provision for personal growth and therapy was made in a kind of infinite regress of richer and richer systems.

Fifth, the assessment program was to extend from top to toe excluding no one. All project participants from director to file clerk - students, secretaries, psychometrists, research assistants, supervising teachers, university faculty, psychologists, administrators, all were offered assessment, and all except clerical staff had available opportunities for filming, recording and other feedback as these evolved.

Sixth, both description and measurement were used in assessment of individuals and in reporting results. The descriptions in this chapter were derived from tape recordings, on-the-spot records of trained observers, clinical write-ups, case notes and, from a current project, sound films of student teaching, counseling and consultation.

UNDERSTANDING THE PROSPECTIVE TEACHERS' TASKS

An empathic understanding of student teaching as a psychological experience - or of any of the tasks of the prospective teacher - is not much assisted by reference to the literature. As Sarason said in 1962, "No problem area in education is as unstudied and as important as the practice - teaching period."[7] At the start of the Texas project in 1958, that was the situation. Teacher preparation was then psychologically almost unknown.

Vantage Points

Psychological understanding of teacher preparation requires at least three vantage points.

One is the point of view of the teacher educator, i.e., the teacher preparation institution, the university supervisor, the public school cooperating teacher, and all the professional persons involved in teacher preparation. This point of view is well represented, even over-represented. Most teacher preparation programs and most texts for prospective teachers, although attempting to consider the problem from the student's point of view, are based primarily on guesses by teacher educators about the prospective teacher's concerns and tasks.

A second vantage point is that of some omniscient observer, all seeing, all hearing, all-intuiting, who can with perfect accuracy, art and resonance, reflect all the events seen and unseen of the classroom and the school: the precise moment a child first feels that math is hard or reading sissy; the teacher's glance that fires that first faint impulse to choose ulcers as a favored symptom; the sudden secret knowledge of power; the rapture of first communion with a word; all the trillion, trillion messages received and sent each day in school.

To approach these last two vantage points, one inside the prospective teacher and one beyond infallibility, many hundred hours of mouse-in-the-corner observation and mechanical recording were undertaken.

As a result, one outcome of the Texas project has been a myriad of empirically derived portraits of teaching tasks as becoming teachers see them, not just those perceptions of which they are conscious but rarely verbalize, but also those of which they are not conscious but which may be apparent to specially trained observers.

[7] Seymour B. Sarason, Kenneth S. Davidson and Burton Blatt, The Preparation of Teachers: An Unstudied Problem in Education, New York, Wiley, 1962., p. 116.

A second outcome has been a "mural" of the prospective teacher's task as it might be seen by an omniscient observer. A composite of these two portraits of the teaching task, one drawn by the prospective teacher and one by the uninvolved observer, became the basis for instruction and for all psychological services to prospective teachers. They were used to answer the questions prospective teachers were really asking, rather than to answer, however well, questions no one was asking.

THROUGH THE EYES OF PROSPECTIVE TEACHERS

The tremendous psychological complexity of teacher preparation, and especially of student teaching as it was communicated by students in the midst of it, almost defies description except in the words of the students themselves. These words come from many sources: from the typescripts of tape recordings of three semesters of weekly counseling-oriented student teaching seminars,[8] from near-verbatim accounts by psychologists of over 200 hour-long confidential "depth" interviews with student teachers before and after student teaching, from the case notes of therapists' "test interpretation" or counseling conferences and from tape recordings of many informal contacts between psychologists or curriculum supervisors and prospective teachers while the latter exploded, whispered, cried, smarted, gloated, beamed, or fussed over their most recent encounters with teaching. Currently a stimulated recall method, after Bloom,[9] is being used to investigate more systematically covert concerns and perceptions. For this purpose, student teachers watching a film of themselves teaching a class, attempt to recall their feelings, thoughts, expectations and perceptions while teaching.

The Sample

The words that follow as examples come from some of almost 1,000 students, primarily young women between the age of 19 and 26 and, except where noted, these are their concerns, their perceptions of a teacher's developmental tasks.

The composition of the sample is important. For example, one freshman education course was labeled completely useless by well over 90 per cent of all the student teachers seen in a confidential post student teaching interview, but it was judged brilliant, deep, enlightening by a selected subsample. The subsample was composed of student teachers over 35: retired men, foreign students, musicians, artists, housewives, and other mature persons returning to college for certification. The context of these interviews indicates that the young inexperienced majority was unable to formulate the questions the course was designed to answer and only this young majority termed the course irrelevant, or, less elegantly, "mickey mouse."

[8] Frances F. Fuller and Oliver H. Bown. Counseling and Co-Counseling Student Teacher Groups. (paper delivered at annual meeting of the American Psychological Association.) American Psychologist, 1964, 19, 457 (Abstract).

[9] B. S. Bloom, The Thought Processes of Students in Discussion from Sidney J. French, Accent on Teaching, Harper and Bros., New York, 1954.

Three arbitrary divisions will be made in reporting prospective teachers' experiences: 1. the concerns of student teachers as they progressed through their first semester of teaching in public schools, 2. their developmental tasks as they saw them, and 3. their reported and observed responses to these tasks. It should be noted that in reality, however, these comfortably neat divisions were neither neat nor comfortable, but more typically a flowing, intermingling, often baffling, whole.

CONCERNS OF STUDENT TEACHERS

In order to secure frank statements from student teachers about their real concerns as these developed through the student teaching experience, it was necessary to create an environment which they perceived as appropriate for free expression.

A prior review of the case notes of approximately 200 confidential depth exit interviews with individual graduating student teachers in this population had indicated that student teaching was generally regarded as crucial and often stressful that student teachers rarely voiced their failures, and that a protected but purposeful environment would be necessary to insure honest self-report.

Dr. Geneva Pilgrim had suggested that student teaching seminars, already a part of teacher preparation, become "counseling-oriented seminars." These were similar to what is sometimes called an intensive group experience or the T group mentioned by Carl Rogers in an earlier chapter of this volume. Between 1960 and 1962, groups of five to nine student teachers met once a week for two hours for the 12 to 14 weeks of their student teaching semester with one or two experienced counseling psychologists. The counselors did not structure sessions or provide leads for topics. They maintained confidentiality; they did not contribute to evaluation or grading of student teachers. University supervisors who assigned course grades were not present during any of the discussion used as data in the study of teachers' concerns.

Discovering concerns of student teachers had not been the original or even the principal purpose for conducting the seminars. The main purpose had been to discover how to apply group therapy techniques to an ongoing program of teacher preparation. Lumpkin and McGuire[10] had reported it feasible and accepted by volunteer student teachers when conducted outside the college program.

Procedures

In order to provide units for analysis, complete typescripts of tape recordings were divided into "communications" and these units were classified into 13 categories. The arbitrary names given these categories were concern with: Curriculum, Discipline, Grading and Evaluation, Parents of Pupils, Peers, Psychological Approaches to Teaching, Public School Situation, Pupils, Research Project, Routine, Self Attitudes,

[10] Joseph Howard Lumpkin, Jr., Group Counseling and the Learning of Teacher Roles. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation. The University of Texas, 1954.

Supervising Teachers, University.

Concerns classified were not necessarily the most obvious topic of the student teacher's statement in the seminar. When considered in context, the event or topic mentioned was often merely a vehicle for conveying an underlying concern. It was the underlying concern which was of interest in this analysis. A verbatim comment by a student teacher may illustrate the difference. The teacher here may seem to be talking about the tedium of teaching spelling.

> I got so blasted ego-involved and I wanted to do something sooo meaningful, and then to get up there and teach those stupid spelling words! There's nothing wrong with it. It's not that. But it was so flat.

Teaching spelling, and even her disappointment in it, were, in context, not really central. Even the implied condemnation of a system which killed enthusiasm was incidental. Her underlying concern was her own disappointment.

From inspection of category frequencies, a pattern of concerns became apparent during the first seminar which was repeated in broad outline during the two succeeding semesters. During the early part of the semester, student teachers' concerns centered on themselves and as the semester advanced they became more concerned with their pupils.

The earliest concerns of student teachers were almost disregarded by us during early seminars as mere concern with routine and unrelated to the "real" business of teaching. Student teachers were eager to learn what school and class they were assigned to, who would ride in their car pool, the name of their supervisor and above all the public school cooperating teacher to whom they would be assigned. It was during this period that they were most vividly aware of themselves and least aware of their pupils. When they did become aware of pupils, it was with a jaundiced eye, often seeing pupils as no more than potential "discipline" problems.

When the problem of control was resolved, and pupils could be seen as individuals, awareness of self began to be replaced by awareness of others. Student teachers gradually became less aware of themselves and more aware of their pupils. What they were teaching became of less concern than what pupils were really learning. It seemed that when the individual student teacher became more secure, it became possible for her to consider the welfare of others. As one student teacher put it, "When we have the class under control, that's our food and shelter."

Some student teachers never got enough "food and shelter" and, still cold and hungry, were unable to share the later concerns of their more fortunate friends. Such self protecting student teachers typically avoided subsequent discussion of their own personal attitudes and values, and the influences of these upon communication of subject matter, discussions to which student teachers advanced who had resolved problems of self adequacy. Such self concerned student teachers frequently changed the subject, introduced incidents others felt irrelevant, "forgot" or lost the trend of the conversation, sat silent, or otherwise avoided discussion of the more advanced concerns.

Six stages of concerns emerged from the seminars.

Stage one: Where do I stand?

Here student teachers were concerned with the coming student teaching situation and with their position in it. They were literally sitting on the edges of their chairs waiting to find out about their assignments, the school, the grade level, cooperating teacher, university supervisor, the rules of the school, the orientation of the principal, and especially the expectations of cooperating teachers, the requirements of the task and the limitations, both verbalized and tacit, upon them.

St. 1 I don't know, I mean is it going to be my class? or is it going to be the teacher's class? Can I teach what I want to, really? Can I try out new things?
St. 2 Does she tell you what to do? Or can you make up your mind?
St. 3 And what if she doesn't approve of the way I'm doing it?
St. 1 And that's not all of it. I can't put my finger on it.
St. 2 Oh, I think the anticipation - knowing the action is actually coming.
St. 3 The big day when the bomb will fall.

When assignments have been made, the problem of discerning real expectations, the behavior for which real rewards are given as opposed to those which just get lip service, the search for the real power structure has just begun. Things are not always what they seem:

St. 1 My cooperating teacher is so good. She gives them a free rein. But she has them under perfect control.
St. 2 They feel free with her. They just don't dare not to discuss.
St. 1 Well, they get an F if they don't.

Even when the facts are plain, knowing where one stands is hard:

St. 1 (excitedly) I went to a conference with a mother today. It was actually a mother.
St. 2 A real mother!
St. 1 Mrs. M. said we are not student teachers, we are real teachers. (Pause) I sat there and didn't say a word. But they talk to you as well as the teacher.

In one school, student teachers reported being criticized as "unprofessional" because they avoided the teachers' lounge, and in another, the telephone as well as the lounge were explicitly forbidden them. One principal felt that student teachers who sent pupils to his office for punishment were abdicating their responsibility; another backed them up and even invited them to witness the paddling. If they ignored noisy

members of another class in the hall, they might be judged irresponsible; if they took action, they might be told to stop "interfering". Even worse, the children might ignore them. Evaluating the subtle cues on which such judgments could be based called for social sophistication and sometimes two-faced inconsistency. Many otherwise committed, knowledgeable student teachers couldn't - or wouldn't - "play it smart".

Stage Two: How Adequate Am I?

This was another self-preservation phase. One concern was with subject matter adequacy. What do you do when a child asks about the past tense of "lie" and "lay" when this is something you've never been clear about yourself? What will the class think when you have to say, not the first or fourth, but the tenth time, "I don't know" or "Let's look that up."

A second, and overriding concern was class control. This is, of course, no surprise to anyone who has supervised student teachers. As hunters discuss the chase and sailors the shipwreck, student teachers from K through 12, but particularly in junior high school, talk about "discipline." Resolution of the need on one hand to be liked by pupils and on the other to frustrate their impulses in the interests of socialization, caused discomfort to most student teachers. For some, however, attempts at class control were deeply traumatic. For a student teacher who was a lonely only child, "discipline" meant alienating potential "playmates" in the class or even brothers and sisters whose late arrival made them more precious still. For the rebel, class control was "going over to the enemy." Unconsciously hostile student teachers sometimes panicked in fear of their own rage; passive ones cried; narcissistic ones were titillated and manipulated.

Discipline in student teaching is vastly complicated by the presence of a cooperating teacher. First, her standards, if even slightly different regarding tolerable noise level, impulse expression, etc., add another dimension to an already complex situation. More important, her aims and those of the student teacher are at odds: the teacher's aim is success: the student teacher needs the freedom to fail. As one so vividly documented it, they certainly can muff:

> ST I cannot control them at all. They do everything they can to tease me. They take the little slips I have to send to the office. Then I have to hunt for them. They finally give them back. And they run around the room. Yes, they do.

Their repertoire of "staring them down", snapping fingers, making pupils "freeze", writing names on the board and so on works only temporarily. Remaining in control is more complex than merely keeping order.

The view that "discipline problems", like a fever, are merely a symptom was relatively infrequent. Discipline problems were initially treated as discrete events susceptible of cure by prescription, although the "symptom" hypothesis was given lip service. The reason for this seemed to be that once class control was seen as a product of emotional

interaction between teacher and class, what the teacher is (and cannot change quickly, if at all) instead of what the teacher does, is subject to inspection. So are many values of doubtful lineage, unexamined feelings, shaky convictions. In the area of discipline, it is not possible to abstain. Doing nothing is always doing something.

Stage Three: Why Do They Do That?

At this stage, student teachers were concerned with individual students, generally the "problem" students and their strange behavior. They saw masochistic behavior:

> But I can't give her the scissors. The others cut the paper, but she just sits and slices little pieces off her fingers.

And fear:

> I know how his father looks to him - like a great big ogre. I don't blame him for lying to his father about me, but what am I going to tell the father when he comes to see me?

Or withdrawal:

> She's no trouble, but so strange - just not there at all.

Children disdain them:

> When I said who I hoped would win the fight, I heard this one little boy say, 'Nigger lover.' I didn't know what to say.

Or take up arms against them:

> She doesn't like me and she is arousing the others against me.

Occasionally, the problem resides entirely within a child too troubled for any teacher's help. But more often it is the teacher's own feelings about the child which are troublesome, not the child's feelings about himself. To resolve this concern, more than knowledge of "child psychology" is required. A revision in the teacher's attitude as well as an addition to the teacher's knowledge is necessary.

Stage Four: How Do You Think I'm Doing?

During this stage, some students merely worried about their student teaching grade, but most tried to discern how parents, supervising teachers, principals and others were evaluating them. Sometimes such an evaluation was crucial:

> I won't apply if I don't have a chance. I know you shouldn't be grade conscious, but what if I make a C? If I did, I wouldn't go on teaching.

Important as they are, dependable evaluations seem hard to get:

> Today I had a parent come down and complain about me. Yesterday he acted lovely to me and today he is talking to Miss S.

Even principals can be distrusted if they try too hard to be agreeable:

> The principal came in and said I did a wonderful job. I guess he liked the way I took roll. (laughter) Then when he left he said to Mrs. M., 'What is her name?' (laughter) And I have to have his recommendation!

It is hard to ask frankly for honest evaluation.

> St. The only thing Dr. T. said to me was, 'L, if your lesson plans were a little more detailed I could help you.' Of course, he was standing there with one tiny little piece of my notebook paper. (laughs most hysterically) If he had only said, 'Now look, you've got to get busy.' (Bangs on table to imitate fantasied supervisor gesture.) Of course I'm asking to be babied. (Laughs) But if he smiles, I just sit there and tell him stories about what happened and we have a good old time. I hope I'm not going to get slapped in the face at the end of the course.
>
> Counselor: You mean the babying may stop all of a sudden?
>
> St. Golly, Yes. I said to my cooperating teacher, 'Has he said anything to you?'

Stage Five: How Are <u>They</u> Doing?

At this stage student teachers were concerned with what the pupils they taught were actually learning as distinguished from what they believed themselves to be teaching. In our early seminars, student teachers rarely asked the question "Will the class remember that?" Although they often discussed with their supervisors outside the seminar the responses their classes made, and even devoted considerable time to an evaluation of what learning had taken place, this question was not raised spontaneously by the student teachers themselves in the seminars.

Student teachers obviously knew in an intellectual way at least that evaluating what their pupils were learning was important in the eyes of their university supervisors. This became apparent when a university supervisor unknowingly set off a near panic by suggesting immediately before the start of a counseling seminar that she would like the student teachers to reflect in their lesson plans the provisions they were making for individual differences among their junior high pupils and for evaluating the individual learning which took place.

As she spoke, the student teachers rapidly made notes, and when she asked if there were questions, there was one about the form this was to

take. The university supervisor left and as soon as the door closed, there was a loud explosion of comments:

Several: What did she mean? Someone run after her. (Someone started out the door)

ST 1 (shouting over the din): Wait a minute! Maybe we can figure this out!

ST 2 What did she mean about individualizing your lesson plans?

ST 3 I think she meant individual levels.

ST 1 I don't think she meant that although we've been talking about it in here. I think maybe that I have not been applying theory. I mean I have given a lot of individual attention without their knowing it. (Illustrates by recounting an incident from her class.)

ST 4 I think that is what she means but in the plan, not in just telling the child, but on a mass level of individual attention and planning. For example, a variety of assignments. Since you have a feeling of confidence now about the mechanics of teaching, start putting more time in on the planning. Is that what she means?

ST 5 Yes, that makes sense.

ST 4 Before we looked up and saw a sea of faces and you could just tell when someone was eating candy or the main thing was when someone wasn't working. Now we can change the lesson or explain it more thoroughly and look out for individuals more than just getting the work done.

Stage Six: Who Am I?

From the first, many unconscious interactions, between student teachers and their pupils, were apparent to the counselor. The impact one student teacher would have on her pupils would often be apparent to some of the others in the seminar, but not to the student teacher herself. In an early meeting, for example, one teacher had a "minor discipline problem."

ST 1 I say, 'Yes, that's your homework.' Then they wave their hands to ask questions and they let 'Mama' slip out.

Several: They really do?

ST 1 And I say! Imagine! Thirteen year olds!

ST 2 You mean they know they're doing it?

ST 1 Maybe some of them do. But I can remember when I was in grade school, I used to let 'Mama' slip out all the time.

ST 2 Yes, but not in high school!

At a later meeting:

Counselor: Do they still call you 'Mama'?

ST 1 No, they've grown up all of a sudden.

Several: <u>They</u> have?

ST 1 Well, <u>they</u> were the ones that were calling me Mama. (laughs) I wasn't calling <u>them</u>. No, but really, they've quit calling me Mama. One even asked what my married name would be.

At the last meeting of the group, without referring to the Mama incident, ST 1 said: "Oh I know me - I'm the mother hen."

The group knew, if she did not, that what she <u>was</u>, a "Mama hen," spoke so loudly to the class that they could not hear her tell them <u>not</u> to call her Mama. They were rather like the little girl who was cautioned not to look at the enormous nose of the distinguished visitor. When she took his proferred gift, she said, eyes carefully averted, "Thank you, Mr. Nose."

To know oneself requires first deciding how much self knowledge one can bear.

ST 1 How much do I want to know about myself. (long silence) I don't know. (She expresses doubts about her qualifications for teaching).

ST 2 It makes me feel sad.

ST 3 I feel we want to keep her (ST 1) in as a teacher, but more important, we want to get her <u>found</u>. I mean if she decided right now she wanted to be a doctor instead of a teacher and she was just very sure, I don't think any of us would be sad. It is just that uncertainty.

ST 2 Well the reason I feel sad when she was saying that was because I have had feelings identical to those, except that I just happen to be more a conformist than you are C, so I just pushed all my fears and doubts away. (Softly) So when you say that -- well, I am sad because it makes mine come back.

ST 1 Do you want yours to come back?

ST 2 (Very softly) No, I don't want them to come back. But, I really am proud of you for standing up and saying, "Well, I'm not sure."

TEACHERS' CONCERNS AND TEACHERS' TASKS

A pattern approximating this six stage sequence cropped up not only in other seminars which followed but in the case notes of interviews with scores of student teachers.

These stages were considered sufficiently important to become one basis for selecting content and procedures for instruction of prospective teachers. Their concerns were considered important for two reasons.

First, the path from knowledge of subject matter to communication of subject matter is not simple and direct but complex and devious. The proponents of scholarship alone as preparation for teaching are doomed to empirical embarrassment simply because persons, and of course, teachers, are not fixed ratio input-output mechanisms, but rather jungles of intervening, and interfering or facilitating, variables. One simple-minded but powerful class of variable is the teacher's own needs and concerns. Before pupils' interests and needs could be sensed by the student teacher, her own most pressing needs had to be satisfied.

Second, the student teacher's stage of concern emerged as a rough index of her readiness to learn to teach. A student teacher preoccupied with a defiant child rarely could internalize instruction by university supervisors about teaching concepts for example, no matter how many lesson plans she wrote. Too, her stage of concern indicated to some extent how she felt <u>while</u> teaching, how much she was able to learn and change in the actual classroom situation. Meeting these concerns and helping students to more advanced stages of concerns seems to be the first task of a teacher preparation program.

A rough, and sometimes nearly indecipherable index did emerge. When the events observed in classrooms of student teachers were compared with their statements in seminar, the statements usually jibed with the <u>facts</u>, but there were wide differences between the <u>covert</u> <u>experience</u> as it was revealed by the student teacher in the seminar and his or her <u>overt</u> <u>behavior</u> while teaching. Students varied tremendously in their ability or willingness to appear more confident than they felt, to channel anxiety, and particularly to persevere.

These differences seemed due, in part at least, to the individual student teacher's life situation and her consequent need to teach. Lower class men and women, for whom teaching was a step up the social ladder, admitted fewer problems to their university supervisors than to counselors. So did newly married girls under pressure to put a husband through graduate school, and duller students less likely to find opportunities outside teaching. In brief, highly motivated students could mask felt inadequacies. As a consequence, the more likely the student teacher was to remain in the profession and the more she needed help, the less likely she was to seek it. They said, "Don't tell your supervisor what you are really wondering because then you won't get a good grade."

Because student teaching was stressful and student teachers were not likely to divulge their real concerns during the student teaching semester, three new tacks were taken. First, test interpretations which were, of all the psychological techniques, the most likely to arouse anxiety, were conducted before student teaching, generally in the junior year, and no longer done during student teaching. As O. H. Bown, Associate Director of the project,put it, "A test interpretation during student teaching is like conducting psychotherapy with someone climbing Mt. Everest." Second, the concerns stages were defined in terms of developmental tasks, i.e., the actual operations teachers had to perform. Third, ways were devised to teach student teachers how to anticipate and, when possible, to perform these developmental tasks before student teaching began. In brief, our knowledge of concerns was used to increase the prospective teacher's capacity to cope with the coming student teaching task.

Developmental Tasks of Student Teachers

1. The concerns of the first stage, finding security in the total school situation, seem to involve the abilities to explore the physical plant freely; to discover with some degree of certainty what school policies are regarding such things as conferences with parents, administration of punishment, and handling emergencies; to estimate the amount of support which can be expected from the school principal and other supervisors in a great variety of situations; to build working relationships with other teachers; to utilize school resources like audio visual aids, libraries, visiting teachers and community counseling services; in general to determine the limits of their acceptance as professional persons in halls, cafeteria, library, playground, teacher's lounge and principal's office.

2. Feeling secure with one's class seems to involve the ability to understand and explain subject matter, to answer pupils' questions, to say "I don't know", to have the freedom to fail on occasion; to mobilize resources and make effective changes when failures reoccur; to master the fear that students will hang from the chandeliers, climb out the windows, or merely refuse to cooperate; to catch an eye, give a warning glance or an approving nod without missing a beat; to feel bigger and stronger than the children if only because society has invested them as its representative; to speak clearly, to be understood, to make out schedules, to estimate the time required to finish assignments; to anticipate problems peculiar to the social class, pecking order, habits, expectations or just plain idiosyncracies of this particular class; to locate objects; in general to create an atmosphere in which teaching is possible, as distinguished from minding children or merely playing with them.

3. Coping with individual children seems to involve the abilities to establish behavior norms; to sense what is usual, what is strange; to interpret test scores, clinical write-ups and a variety of data such as that in permanent record folders; to master the anxiety aroused by the pitiful child and the whole gamut of emotions aroused in a teacher by children's unstinting acceptance, brutal honesty and amoral disregard for propriety; to decide how to react to the boy who cries for hours, the girl who is forever bruised, burned or bandaged, the small boy who pats her posterior, or the bigger one who mutters aft, "I wish I had a swing

like that in my back yard;" to do something with the child who lies, fights, or urinates in the classroom; to talk to parents in person or on the phone; to differentiate behavior which is the child's reaction to himself, from that which is his reaction to his teacher; to understand that doing nothing is usually doing something. Even more, it seems to include the ability of the teacher to estimate her own differential impact on different children, to realize that the very same act may have one effect on one child and a very different effect on another child.

4 and 5. Concern with supervisors' evaluations of them seems only to be resolved when stage 4 and stage 5 concerns are merged, for they must be able to evaluate their own teaching product, and this in turn requires that they be able to estimate the effect their teaching has had on students. Evaluation involves a willingness to ask and then to hold still and listen; to take into account and to partial out the biases and prejudices of those who are responsible for evaluation; to evolve at least short term goals for themselves and their classes; to devise measures both formal and informal which will estimate the effects of what they have done; to attend to those estimates; to understand that estimate is not measurement, and finally to react constructively by trying new procedures, rather than blaming someone else or giving up.

6. The stage six developmental concern "Who am I?" could not be operationally defined with the early seminar groups since too few students were then sufficiently secure in all the preceding developmental tasks to occupy themselves with this question. One objective of our work with experimental groups was an operational definition of stage six developmental tasks. This objective was partially achieved and an operational definition of stage six developmental tasks is included below in the section "Preliminary Findings on the Effects of Experimental Procedures."

The last task, of course, is to learn to teach.

Even the tasks which precede stage six tasks form an impressive list. Nevertheless it seems that unless some of these preliminary tasks are accomplished, minimally those of stages one and two, sophisticated teaching can not even begin.

How did teachers respond who had accomplished these developmental tasks?

TEACHING STYLES

One kind of coping response was the <u>insightful pairing of instructional method and psychological need</u>.

> Juan is nine and still in second grade. His parents are migrant farm workers. He tries to read but only produces a sing-song chant of indistinguishable sounds. When the student teacher introduced addition, he called answers so fast no one else got a chance and he set up a howl when the lesson was over. He's counted many baskets of beans. His student teacher gave him written word problems in arithmetic, first mostly

> numbers, and now is gradually increasing the proportion of words to numbers in his assignments.

Student teachers used instructional material and procedures to help them handle diverse problems, sometimes in ways reminiscent of bibliotherapy and other times of play therapy: fictional heroes at once intellectual and masculine for the boy who thought reading sissy, a chance to paint the sky in swooping sweeps for the anxious, clumsy, tense aggressor, a speaking part behind a mask for the shy child.

Another kind of coping response utilized <u>instructional materials which turn problems into opportunities</u>.

> Right after the smoke bomb went off, the assistant principal came to the door to collect the absence slips. Some boys were rolling on the floor coughing and the girls were letting out little screeches. Of course, first I had to get them out of there to be sure everyone was O.K. Afterward, we got interested in the thing and did an experiment on the effects of that kind of gas on human tissue.

This student teacher was more concerned with protecting the class than with protecting herself. When this same incident was included in a free response pencil and paper instrument, many teacher responses were self-protective, punitive, passive or just exasperated: "Explain to the principal it wasn't my fault." "Punish the ringleaders." "Punish the whole class." "Send them to the office." "Boys will be boys." "Laugh at the ridiculousness of it."

Another way of coping was <u>the search for relevant information</u>. Teachers sometimes used pupils' poetry, art and other class work for this purpose, much as psychologists use projective data. Some understood the language of emotions:

> He actually threw it at me! I was so scared I shook for a week. Then yesterday I read what he wrote. (To psychologist) You'll LOVE this. We were studying seeds, and they all wrote, if I were a seed. He said (holds up a large wide-lined rough sheet) 'I am a watermelon. I am going to be eaten. I am cut. I am screaming. All my pink is running out. Even if they cut me, I am not good. I am calling, calling. Goodbye.' (There was a gasp from the seminar.) 'When I read that, I thought, he feels like he's coming apart.' She cupped her hands as though to scoop him up. 'He <u>needs</u> me to hold him together. And I'm not afraid of him anymore.' At a later session she said, 'Well, I don't know if he's any better, but I know <u>I am</u>, and so is the class.'

Students' art work often communicated to their teachers their perceptions of themselves, of their school, their tasks, their world. Some teachers asked pupils to draw self portraits or respond to music with drawings, poems or prose, and used these productions to make assignments,

to divide students into groups and to individualize instruction in many other ways.

Student teachers used new information to formulate and test hypotheses. Sometimes, as in the case above, the method was helpful with a single child, but it was also useful in parent conferences, group instruction, any situation that needed to be "researched."

Teachers often brought to bear on developing neurotic patterns their own healthy responses, much as therapists use themselves as instruments in therapy. For example, they sometimes reacted spontaneously against rewarding unhealthy behavior or punishing healthy behavior.

> His student teacher mused: 'Phil hardly ever says a word, just stares out the window. I let him be George Washington in the play because he only had to say one line and to shade his eyes to look across the Delaware. His mother came to see the play. At first, he just looked down, but then he said his line just like we practiced. I gave him a big smile. Then I noticed his mother crying! The better he did, the more she cried.' (Pause) 'They weren't tears of joy, either. I think she must need him to need her.' (Pause) I don't know what I'll do. But he's going to have one woman in his life who doesn't need him to be a baby. Me.'

A lot of boys (and men!) need one woman in their lives who doesn't require them to be dependent or ineffectual; who appreciates their masculinity, and can socialize it without hostility; and who can understand (not necessarily in words) that tenderness can be wedded to aggression without demasculinizing either. Like many other teachers, this one by-passed the psychological lingo; withdrawal, Oedipal conflict, impotence underachievement, learning theory. She acted on a basic, healthy notion that, though mothers love their children, to grow to manhood little boys need to learn to do things on their own. Most of all, she fully wanted little boys to be just what they are, little boys.

Another coping response seemed to be the teacher's reliance on his or her own deepest feelings about what was possible for him in a given situation. Here, student teachers' misperceptions about psychology were sometimes roadblocks. Student teachers were sometimes surprised to discover that behavior they considered psychologically disapproved but their "last resort" was not disapproved at all. Their surprise pointed up a frequent theme: the discrepancy between what they called "theory", (usually permissiveness) and application, i.e., what they felt they had to do, even if in secret, to survive. They often fought their most important battle for class control, and for their role as teacher, with what they considered illicit weapons. As one who did survive said, "I didn't want to hurt his little ego, but it was him or me."

Another positive response was an unwillingness to become overcommitted emotionally, stemming from a knowledge of one's own limitations and resources.

> She's so pitiful. Her mother works to support five of them and has no time for her. She asked me to take her home to be my little girl. I just ached. But I told her I couldn't take her home, but I loved to be her teacher and loved to see her every day. What I have to do is help her make good friends in the class.

The acknowledgement that others besides the teacher, especially agemates, can contribute to solutions was a coping response. Student teachers still concerned with their security were most likely to think of the teacher as the only helping agent in the classroom. Others could use pairing or grouping of children, sociometric devices, extra-class and social activities, particularly in junior high and secondary school, to tap the rich resources of classmates.

Damaging Responses

Student teachers also responded to their tasks in ways which seemed to us damaging to children and sometimes to other persons. Rarely did this take the form of sarcasm or threats, never of physical cruelty. Instead, it was subtle, often even unconscious.

Student teachers sometimes responded negatively to incidents like those recounted above, or did not respond at all. They might demand what a pupil could not do and so discourage his trying at all; refuse to accept a small but maximum effort instead of rewarding it with a "bigger piece of paper;" increase frustration beyond the necessary minimum by placing unnecessary obstacles or proscriptions in the way, like holding to a lockstep the bright, curious, creative students; refuse release of insistent natural physical needs like the needs of primary children for activity after excitement; shame students without providing means of restitution; reward self defeating behavior or punish coping responses. Rarely did a teacher know her behavior to be hostile. In this sense, destructive teaching is mainly "incidental," that is, related to limitations in capacity and unconsciously held attitudes.

Unconscious Attitudes

Social class and sexual attitudes of which the teacher was not aware, were a frequent source of what seemed to be damaging teacher behavior. A fairly common example is the 6th grader or junior high school girl, precociously mature physically, but still a child inside, still in need of maternal affection but "too big" for it. She may elicit patient disdain from the women whose support and guidance she asks for in her backward, self defeating way:

> She's one of those - well, she's only 13, but she wears those cheap tight sweaters and gets up every five minutes to sharpen her pencil or something. She's always asking me, 'Do you like the sorority house?', or some other silly question. But her last theme was the end. She told about meeting some boys at night and then said her girl friend got very friendly with one

> boy. And then (reading from scrawled paper) she says, 'They got very, very, very, very, very friendly.'
>
> What's that you wrote there on it?
>
> Well, I knew I shouldn't be too hard on her. They're probably poor and all. So I just wrote in the margin 'NOT CLEAR.'

The pathos of a big bosomed child, using to gain affection the only thing she felt she had, her body, and naively reporting it to her glamorous student teacher in the hope she would impress her idol, was all lost on her student teacher. The student teacher admitted more of the truth than she knew when she wrote "not clear."

Sometimes unconsciously-held attitudes severely limited or distorted student teachers' perceptions of what was happening in the classroom. For example, student teachers reported that they had not "seen" children's masturbation in the classroom until it was pointed out to them, although they had been looking at it for several months. After it was pointed out, they would say they hadn't known what it was, or they hadn't stopped to think what it was or didn't "want" to see it.

Upwardly striving teachers reared in economically deprived families were sometimes hostile toward bright advantaged children who did not have to work as hard as their teachers had had to work. Children whose scholarly parents provided them with stimulating intellectual fare at home were sometimes barely tolerated by their limited - and limiting - teachers. Such teachers labeled these children "lazy." The children, bored, retaliated by misbehaving. When such a student teacher was assigned to a cooperating teacher whose background was similarly limited, they could stand against the world together in their misguided righteousness, especially if they were both hard workers with good scholastic records.

Coping With Supervisors

Student teachers' greatest astuteness, best kept secrets and most agonizing problems were reserved for their relationship with their university supervisors and cooperating teachers. Most student teachers "played it smart," i.e., they adapted themselves to their supervisors when they could. When they sized up the supervisor as someone who needed to be needed, they were full of questions, needs and gratitude, phoned him at home and dragged their tired bodies at semester's end to one last reunion. If the university supervisor was busy with a Ph.D. in process, they put on minutely planned teaching shows at school for his infrequent visits, kept a stiff upperlip in trouble and carried on alone or leaned on one another for support. They openly admitted competing with one another in their group meetings with their supervisor to give good reports of themselves and bring up only high status interesting problems, rather than the dull, messy or resistant ones.

Their relationship with their cooperating teachers was almost unanimously conceded by graduating student teachers to be the single

most critical experience in all their teaching preparation (and, we might say parenthetically, the least supported by teacher preparation institutions.) Most student teachers who survived were well aware of their cooperating teacher's covert attitudes toward them. If they were often sent out of the classroom for library books which were already in the classroom, they knew they were in the teacher's way. They demonstrated considerable skill in establishing relationships attuned to the cooperating teacher's needs.

Even so, explosions occurred: Witness the pairing of Miss Mamie Goode, striving lower class cooperating teacher and Ann Van De Vee. Expensively dressed, full of stories of her European tour, a novelty, Ann flashed about the room, seducing the class, her principal and her supervisor into pity and disdain for the brown hen teacher who was, ultimately, held responsible for the class.

Such explosions were almost always the product of attitudes and values whose etiology, and sometimes even existence, was unconscious. Many such combinations were reported: the devotee of unpopular causes and the clucking homebound mama; the woolly psychoanalyzer and the well defended big-time-operator. A whole gamut of collisions was possible when total strangers were paired in this intimate relationship.

More often, though, there was no collision even when one seemed likely. When it was, the student teacher generally tried to absorb it. The most common consequence was an effort, often futile, by the student teacher to imitate her cooperating teacher:

> Sobersided Prudence read to the class from a collection of humor, the story "The Man Who Lost His Head." Her cooperating teacher, a flamboyant woman, sat in the back gesticulating energetically, trying to help. Prudence tried to ham it up. It was an embarrassing failure. She was tense and gawky and the class lost interest. At the end, one boy asked, "Was it supposed to be funny?"

Even in routine matters like giving directions, student teachers often had to find their own idiosyncratic style:

> My cooperating teacher can say "Take out your arithmetic books and work these problems" and they do. If I say that, there's bedlam. I have to say, "Take out your pencil and nothing else" and wait until they do. Then, "Take out your book and nothing else" and wait. I don't know why it is, but what they do for me and what they do for her are just two different things.

In summary, the total task with which the prospective teacher is concerned is psychologically complex. But with some complexities many of them can not be concerned, at least not deeply, such as those involved in the communication of varying content, in the reliable, valid measurement of effect, in their own real impact and their limitations. The sum of both is a towering task. As the plaques they frequently hung in their dorms put it, "Anyone who remains calm simply does not understand the situation."

PREPARING TEACHERS TO COPE WITH THESE TASKS

Complex though the teaching task is, most prospective teachers felt that, except for student teaching, they had received little preparation for it. In exit interviews, student teachers almost unanimously expressed disappointment with their preparation for teaching "real live students."

This did not seem due to any dearth of qualified instructors or lack of information. Rather, the questions being answered for them in their courses were not the ones that they were asking at that time. While they were wondering what it would feel like to stand before a class, how to quell a riot or face an irate parent, or most important, how to wangle an assignment to a favored university supervisor, they were being taught what they called "theory": experimental method, developmental stages, instrumental conditioning, statistics or sense modalities, all with the admonition that psychological research could not be applied literally, if at all, to classroom problems.

The problem to which we then addressed ourselves was to devise ways of meeting prospective teachers' concerns and of helping them cope with their real developmental tasks before the student teaching semester began, so as to push the point of readiness to learn to teach back to the beginning, instead of the end, of student teaching. For these purposes, three kinds of procedures have been and are being tried: counseling, instructional, consultative.

Counseling

Three kinds of counseling were offered: traditional individual voluntary counseling, group counseling and required test interpretations.

Individual counseling on a voluntary basis was the sole means of offering psychological assistance to prospective teachers for only one year, but it continued to be available in addition to other types of consultation throughout the project.

Group counseling, begun as counseling oriented seminars, was tried for three student teaching semesters and abandoned in favor of a counseling-oriented educational psychology course accompanying third year (junior level) observation and teaching.

The test interpretation, initially the most radical innovation, became the standard mode of contact with individual undergraduates and in a current research project, it is a required procedure. Test interpretation conferences are now available to all prospective teachers in the regular program. The selection procedure and assessment instruments which evolved from the project furnished the basis for a college-wide admission and evaluation program.

Assessment Instruments

The instruments devised in the assessment program, on which the test interpretations and the admission program are based, now comprise a first way of knowing students in depth and as such have become impor-

tant not just in counseling and test interpretation, but in the instructional and consultative aspects of the program.

Some instruments were devised to assess the personality and mental health of prospective teachers before they embarked on their professional program and at various points along the way. Other instruments were devised to assess teaching behavior. Some of these instruments were used to determine what changes occurred and were pre-post research instruments. Sometimes these same instruments plus others were used as the raw material for clinical write-ups which were shared with the students assessed in counseling-oriented conferences or "test interpretations." Later both personality assessment instruments and teacher behavior instruments were used in "consultation" i.e., in pre-planning the student teaching experience and in the student-supervisor-psychologist conferences which eventually evolved. The goal of the instruments devised to assess personality characteristics and attitudes was to obtain data which would provide an understanding of individuals which was both objective and sufficiently deep to reflect overt, covert and unconscious functioning. These instruments included structured questionnaires, for example, published inventories like the California Psychological Inventory,[11] experimental questionnaires like the Bown Self Report Inventory,[12] semi-structured instruments like the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT), sentence completion blanks and situation-reaction instruments. One deceptively simple but unusually revealing projective technique originated by Veldman (ibid.), the Directed Imagination Test (DI), simply instructs the prospective teacher to write four stories about teaching, each in four minutes or less.

Sociometric techniques were used and were not popular. Student teachers were asked to evaluate one another and supervising teachers were asked to evaluate each other. Reactions of both groups were almost uniformly negative. Interestingly enough, however, pilot studies indicate that such peer judgments have considerable reliability and validity even when raters protest, "We don't know each other."

The instruments finally selected for test interpretations were those which the psychologists doing test interpretations felt yielded the largest amount of valid information for the smallest investment in testing time. These were the Peck Biographical Information Form, Peck One-Word Sentence Completion, Bown Self Report Inventory, Directed Imagination and Group Administered Thematic Apperception Test (TAT).

Test Interpretations and Teacher Behavior

Test Interpretation conferences focused both on the prospective

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[11] California Personality Inventory, Harrison G. Gough, Consulting Psychologists Press, 1957.

[12] Robert F. Peck, Oliver H. Bown and Donald J. Veldman, "Mental Health in Teacher Education," The Journal of Teacher Education, V: 319-27, September, 1964.

teacher as a person and on his coming student teaching. Some common patterns became apparent in protocols and related teaching behavior. The TAT indicated the dynamic. The Sentence Completion indicated directionality. The D. I. indicated how these two might manifest themselves in teaching. The Biographical information form supplied an etiology for the dynamic.

Unconscious hostility is one of the more obvious examples. If TAT stories are replete with violence, accidents, unhappy endings, broken violins, lovers killed, justified revenge, one dynamic may be hostility. Sentence Completion responses may specify the direction of the hostility: toward peers ("Most girls my age are flighty;") toward teachers ("The average teacher is bourgeois"); toward males ("Women often hate men"). Sometimes in the course of counseling a third year student could come to be conscious of her irrational irritation with a future cooperating teacher she had not even met and to realize, often with horror, that she had been about to antagonize someone she consciously wished to please. Sometimes such a student had to be, with her knowledge, assigned in such a way as to circumvent her own self-defeating tendencies, to a male cooperating teacher perhaps instead of a woman.

Test interpretations, like other procedures designed to help students cope with the coming student teaching experience, were related to the individual student's own perception of his developmental tasks, and to the possibility that one developmental task, class control for example, might prove more worrisome to him than other tasks.

FORMAL INSTRUCTION

Coping With Developmental Tasks Through Selection of Course Content

In the university classrooms, the derived developmental tasks determined the selection and sequence of content and the procedures used to present that content.

Coping With Stage One Tasks:

To help students cope with their first-stage developmental tasks, i.e., exploring and discovering the realities of the school environment, an attempt was made to help them become sophisticated observers and shrewd guessers. To this end, psychology course content centered initially about perception: variables which limit and distort perception and observation, the personal equation, differences in reaction time, observation as a step in scientific method, psychological constructs and operational definitions of them; theoretical frameworks which dictate the kinds of observations which are selected; hypothesis formation to make sense of observations; hypothesis testing; perceptual defenses; mild impairments in communication (speaking, writing, listening, reading); severe impairments (autism, schizophrenia). Maya Pines' account in "The Rebirth of Jonny"[13] of the therapy of an autistic child has great impact on elementary teachers.

Coping With Stage Two Tasks

To help students cope with their second-stage developmental tasks,

i.e., achieving class control and subject matter mastery, an attempt was made to help them estimate the quality of their impact on individuals and groups in general and their own pupils in particular. To this end, psychology course content included a detailed case study of an angry, aggressive, anxious, acting out boy, another of an unconsciously hostile student teacher both with illustrative films. Research presented in lecture concerned social class, self concept, authoritarianism, enviornmental deprivation, peer interaction, sociometrics, conformity, creativity, divergent thinking. Harry Harlow's research with monkeys is especially popular, perhaps because the great Dr. Harlow admits himself bested by Kathie, the elementary education major![13]

To make relevant to individual behavior this intellectual learning, each student has a one hour conference (a "test interpretation") with a therapist, in which the probable behavior of the student as a teacher is one focus. These contacts and their impact on students and therapists had complex outcomes. Briefly, whether the student felt helped and whether the student resisted the contact depended more upon the therapist than upon the student, but given a therapist with characteristics which were favorably perceived by students, prospective teachers were, as a group, overwhelmingly "therapy ready" when therapy was viewed as an impetus to self realization. In any case, the student had the opportunity to voice and work out concerns regarding feelings of inadequacy, class control, relationships and other stage two developmental tasks.

Coping With Stage Three Tasks

To help students cope with their third-stage developmental tasks, i.e., understanding the behavior of individual children, and their learning capabilities, extensive use was made of case studies. Each junior teacher selected a child for special study with the objective of getting behind his eyes and seeing the world as he saw it. To get information, in addition to using the usual sources, students interpreted projective type data (sentence completions, autobiographies, art work), analyzed their tape recorded conversations with the child and sociometric information about him and, where appropriate, tested their successive hypotheses and reported their findings. Tape recorded conversations between therapists and children were played and discussed in the university classroom to illustrate approaches which might be useful with both parents and children. For one hour, graduating student teachers let down their hair with these new junior teachers. For another hour junior teachers talked with specialists in the area of mental retardation, orthopedic handicaps, speech problems, etc. Finally, small groups were presented with vignettes of incidents reported in depth interviews by graduating teachers. The group evolved procedure papers, specifying what they would do, how, when and why.

Coping With Stage Four Tasks

Stage four concerns with evaluation and grading were dealt with through a long continuing, generally two year, contact between supervisor and student teacher, through assignment for two semesters to the same

[13] Harlow, H. F. The Nature of Love. Amer. Psychol., 1958, 13, 673-685.

public school and the same university supervisor. However, it must be noted that the problem of university letter grades for student teachers was never resolved to the satisfaction of the student teachers involved.

Coping With Stage Five Tasks

Stage five instructional content was what is usually called educational psychology: measurement, statistics, intelligence, achievement, cognition, motivation, learning, retention, transfer. Writing test items, item analysis, reliability, and validity, the evaluation of learning generally, become important only when student teachers began to evaluate their teaching in terms of what their pupils were learning.

INSTRUCTIONAL AND SUPERVISORY PROCEDURE

In addition to developmental tasks, several criteria guided procedure.

1. Everyone is equal.

Every person involved in an interpersonal situation influences it. The therapist has been shown to influence the outcome of therapy. Researchers have been shown to influence the outcome of their research even when their subjects are animals. A person's attitudes and experiences can limit or distort his perception of events more concrete than teaching, and like or dislike can be a massive determinant of interaction between people.

As a corollary then, every individual in contact with prospective teachers was a research subject too. So psychometrists who administered tests took them; instructors who viewed teachers' films were themselves filmed; the mental health of a prospective secretary, janitor or therapist was of as much concern as that of a research subject.

Often such "equality" had the unanticipated result of solving problems or preventing them from arising. For example, before undergraduate subjects were asked to consent to having their teaching performances tape recorded or filmed, the professors who required this of them were themselves taped or filmed while teaching the students who were to be filmed later. This practice of filming the professor gradually became recognized as a nucleus for systematic desensitization[14] of prospective teachers to filming. Using it, it became unnecessary to limit the sample to volunteers, since "desensitized" subjects did not object to being filmed.

Not only was each person involved in the program equally tested, filmed, etc., but each was subject equally to evaluation. In the same way that prospective teachers were evaluated by their university supervisors and supervising teachers (a common practice) and by their pupils (a less common practice), the university supervisor, instructors and

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[14]Joseph Wolpe, Psychotherapy by Reciprocal Inhibition, Stanford California, Stanford University Press, 1958.

psychologists were evaluated by their students and student teachers. For perhaps the first time, therapists were systematically evaluated by their clients, not merely by rating scales or check sheets, but in anonymous confidential depth interviews by other therapists.

Student teachers furnished in their evaluation interviews a rich lode of live data about that "unstudied problem in education," the experience of preparing to be a teacher. Old hands became accustomed to facing evaluative data about themselves and even to building in assurances of anonymity for the evaluators. For example, instructors being evaluated by students would ask the students to mail the unopened evaluations after grades had been distributed.

In time, cooperating teachers took the research test battery and had the tests interpreted; principals examined their interactions with teachers; supervisors kept running notes on their feelings, and anger, anxiety and apathy were not excluded.

2. Communication is open; awareness and self revelation are appropriate.

One therapeutic skill is the creation of a relationship in which self revelation is appropriate, even if the revelation is temporarily anxiety arousing. One example of such revelation is admission of ignorance. Saying "I don't know", is a necessary first step in learning. Who can newly learn what he already knows? But for many, an admission of ignorance arouses anxiety. Even admitting that some things exist can be anxiety arousing. A case in point was a teacher's response to the question of a second grader whose show and tell was an article recounting a rape: She said, "Rape means pushing a person" (sic). Sometimes a little distortion goes a long way.

In order to provide a climate in which necessary awareness and honesty were appropriate, instructors attempted themselves to be honest and open. For example, instructors asked formally organized classes at their first meeting to discuss his (the instructor's) teaching style. They encouraged negatively loaded statements and had some ready if none were forthcoming.

They could respond to student comments when appropriate with reflections and clarifications as well as information.

To help students accept and understand distortions not only in their own perceptions, but in their supervisors' perceptions of them, psychology classes early included information on perceptual defenses. Psychological defenses were introduced when instructors pointed out their own defensive maneuvers with the aim of helping students to differentiate between self enhancing, realistic coping mechanisms, and self defeating ones.

In one early class experiment, words were tachistoscopically presented to demonstrate that "happy" words were seen accurately more often than "painful" words. The Ames window demonstration usually convinced doubters that things are not always what they seem.

A kind of desensitization to self exposure evolved, as a response to many kinds of self exposure. The battery of assessment instruments was administered to each student and these were interpreted by a psychologist routinely for all, not just for volunteers. Students saw their films of themselves teaching and/or listened to their tape recordings and discussed these with their instructors. They participated in seminars with psychologists, three-way conferences with instructor and cooperating teachers, and were as often as possible rewarded in all contacts for appropriate honesty and risk taking while defensive behavior was not remarked.

3. Emphasis is on what the teacher <u>is</u>, rather than on what she does.

Research tends to support the notion that acts themselves and ways of performing them are, within broad limits, less important than the attitude of the doer. When a baby is fed and weaned is less important than whether his mother does so gladly or resentfully. So it is with teachers: pupils rarely laugh with the sobersided student teacher trying hard to tell a humorous story. One student will report that a child is a "terrible discipline problem" while a second will report that the same child is "just darling," thus pointing out more vividly than any psychologist can, that one teacher's poison is another teacher's pet.

This differential interaction among teacher, method and child was considered in individual test interpretations, in film feedback sessions, in three way conferences, and in counseling if this occurred. It was also considered in a new procedure discussed below: the psychological pairing of student teacher and cooperating teacher.

4. Teach teachers as they are expected to teach children.

The way a teacher selects behavior to fit what she is probably depends in part on the models she has available, in much the same way that symptoms are "chosen", so that any one of a number of neurotic symptoms may satisfy the same need. The prospective teacher has had many models: all the persons in authority she has ever known, particularly her public school teachers, university professors and cooperating teacher. Instructors in professional education courses have a unique responsibility as "models" because of their close association in time and professional identity. University students are not, of course, pupils,but they object to boredom even more vehemently.

Instructors used as often as possible methods reflecting a variety of applications of psychological thought. Teaching machine procedures were illustrated by using programs to teach statistics, and the instructor was a "machine" by systematically presenting small step questions orally, while illustrating branching on the chalkboard and providing immediate reinforcement.

Sociometrically formed groups interpreted the protocol of a student teacher simultaneously, each working from a verifax of the protocol. Laboratory procedures from different behavioral sciences offered unlimited possibilities for direct manipulation of materials by students.

Instructors illustrated Jerome Bruner's contention that any subject can be effectively taught in some intellectually honest form to any child at any stage of development provided it is divorced from its technical language and studied through materials the child can handle himself.[15] Extending this to the university classroom, the concept "psychological construct" was taught using Bruner's box problem. The instructor held up a box saying it contained something which the class would try to guess: If it can't be guessed, it can at least be defined in terms of observations made about it. Students cannot ask what it is, its color or shape, but they can propose doing anything to it except opening it. At first they say "Is it hard?" etc., but eventually they realize they must ask for the results of operations: "What will happen if I weigh it, boil it, hold a magnet to it, x-ray it?" They never find out for certain what it is, but they can describe it, and perhaps give it a name: "intelligence," "paper clip" or "X". In much less than 30 minutes, every member of an unselected group could conceptualize and verbalize "psychological construct", a feat many graduate students cannot match. This method of working directly with what is concrete, e.g., case studies, and of bypassing terminology seemed to be effective in developing interpersonal insightfulness as well.

Another way instructors worked as "models" was by exposing their professional labor to these trying to learn. For example, if the psychologist held a conference with a parent, the principal was present; if a child was seen for diagnosis or counseling, it was on the condition that the teacher and junior teacher be present, and interact as they could. This too had unlooked for rewards. An incident is illustrative: The teacher refers a child who procrastinates continually.

> Child: I don't know why. I just do it.
>
> Miss C. (teacher): Sounds like me with my ironing.
>
> Child: (voice cracking) I keep saying, this is no good, want to make it better.
>
> Consultant: Do you know that if you got all the words wrong, Miss C. would still like you? (child sobbing) She might not like what you did but she'd still like you. (sniff) Ask her if she would.
>
> Child: (sniff) Would ya?
>
> Teacher: Of course I would. (pause) And I'll bet your mother would too. (child sniffs)

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[15] Jerome S. Bruner, The Process of Education, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1960.

Consultant: Well, we can't answer for her mother. She's a different person and we don't know about that. But Miss C. can answer for herself. Do you believe her?

Child: (sobbing) I made a "C" - a "C" on a notebook.

Teacher: Was that this year? (pause) I don't remember it.

Child: I do!

Consultant: Do you know that you can get a C, and still be an A person? (long pause) You don't believe that either, huh?

Child: I do, but I didn't know it.

Not only did the teacher learn, as she put it, to "stay quiet and wait for what they'll say" but she became conscious of her own power to be an agent of change in a child's life.

We have not space to illustrate further how university instructors can extend to their own teaching the precepts they give prospective teachers to individualize learning, arrange for discovery, etc., etc. Whether or not the university instructor in the professional course attempts to practice what he preaches, he is still a model, helpful or no. Here, as in therapy, doing nothing is impossible, because doing nothing is doing something, usually something unhelpful.

5. The disadvantages of manipulation are controlled by feedback.

When an individual wants to change his attitudes or behavior, the attempt of others to work toward this end is called help. If he doesn't want to change, it is interference. To prevent any "playing God" by our therapists (or by our subjects, who became quite powerful) two sets of checks were built into the system. One has already been summarized: equality of all participants in exposure to treatment and evaluation. A second check was feedback.

In spite of the risk of Hawthorne effect, i.e., the chance that just knowing one is an experimental subject will change one's behavior, all participants were constantly informed about their "treatment". No subterfuges or dummy interviews were attempted to disguise the face that one half of a group received test interpretations, the other half did not. Participants had constant access to counsel and were free to question procedures, to request changes, and to get them.

Consultation

Consultation extended to all activities which concerned any individual prospective teacher or to the situation in which the prospective teacher taught. It was the use of the insights gained through assessment instruments and intensive individual contacts with prospective

teachers to foster their professional growth. It included the psychologically knowledgeable assignment of a student teacher to a school, a classroom and a cooperating teacher, manipulation of the environment or changes in procedures, which were designed to tailor the experience of student teaching to the individual student teacher.

For example, the psychologist and supervisor, on the basis of psychological testing and one semester's experience with the student, attempted to make predictions about anticipated teaching behaviors of the student teacher: his responses to "slow" and "fast" classes, to rigid and flexible cooperating teachers, to acting-out and withdrawn children, to supportive and challenging supervision, etc. Then an assignment was made or a needed situation created. In one extreme case for example, a cooperative class was "structured" into temporary passivity to recondition a badly frightened but potentially effective, student teacher. In most cases, however, the objective was not to promote a smooth operation, but rather to present the student teacher with an opportunity to learn. Student teachers were even deliberately assigned to potentially upsetting situations (Elsie Dinsmore to Auntie Mame, for example) in order to create a learning situation for a student teacher who had been judged sufficiently adequate to endure the experience and learn from it in the comparatively safe environment of understanding supervision.

Troubled student teachers were referred for individual counseling or even hospitalization. Supervisors were helped to untangle their own knotty feelings about student teachers, people were separated, assigned together, or merely brought into communication with one another. Principals and supervisors were helped to partial out the contribution a student teacher was making to an interaction. Above all, the objective was to place the student teacher in the circumstances in which she was most likely to learn to cope, and to teach children to do so too.

PRELIMINARY FINDINGS ON EXPERIMENTAL PROCEDURES

Some data recently obtained indicate that stages of concerns of student teachers can be advanced in groups with which the procedures described above have been used. Between 1958 and 1963, these procedures were tried as they evolved at different times with different groups. Since 1963, they have been applied in systematic fashion and the first full experimental group has just completed student teaching as this is being written (1966). Their concerns and the concerns of non-treated groups were sampled during the semester. Individual student teachers were classified according to what they reported as their principal concern at that time.

No test of significance was necessary to demonstrate the differences between the groups. At the beginning of the student teaching semester, almost three-fourths of the experimental group were concerned primarily with what children were actually learning and their own impact on that learning. In the non-treated groups only one of the fifty student teachers was deeply concerned with this in day-by-day teaching. and covert experiencing.

For the first time it was possible to state in student teachers'

terms "Stage Six Tasks" and to begin to specify the developmental tasks of this stage. Some statements of the students at stages V and VI can be subsumed under eight preliminary categories:

1. Taking into account the characteristics and learning capacities of the class.

> It bothers me when I forget they are in fourth grade. I want them to like everything.
> I work on phrasing questions so they'll answer with new ideas.
> The record folders in the office only go so far - not far enough at all.

2. Specifying objectives in teaching content.

> The thing with me is to get them to see the whole picture, not just one part.
> My worst problem is that I need some big direction. They need generalizations bigger than those I have myself.

3. Specifying one's own limitations.

> I talk too much instead of letting them experience it themselves.
> All I can hear is the criticism. If she says one small thing is wrong, I feel as though she said the whole thing is wrong.
> I have that kind of face. If I'm not stonefaced at first, I can't tighten up later.
> I had to have someone baby me then or I'd have quit teaching.

4. Partializing out one's own contributions to difficulties.

> Mrs. S. says it is her worst, most diverse class in 11 years, but I have the problem of knowing when I can be free with them and when not.
> I call that type smart alecks to myself, so you can tell I have a personal problem with them.

5. Trying out new ways and accepting the discomfort that may accompany change.

> Working in committees is frustrating to me but helpful to them.
> Letting them walk around bugs me because I never could do it.
> These children demand to be taught as individuals and that is hard, but I see what it's like to teach a different way.

6. Evaluating one's effectiveness in terms of children's gain.

> How can we rate ourselves until we see how much they have retained?

Seeing a face light up like he's got it is the best reward.
I know and the children know, so what if she (the supervisor) doesn't stop by.

7. Relating to and evaluating supervisors as colleagues.

We combined forces. She gives me ideas and I give her ideas.
She snaps at me, but even her husband tells her he's not a mind reader.

8. Selecting a teaching job considering what one has to give as well as get:

I'm no scholar. I'm just a nice guy. That school is in the poorest section, but it's got a market for nice guys.
I'm only applying to private schools. I would not like lower class students and I'm sure they'd know it.

NEW DIRECTIONS

A research project now in its last year, the Personality, Teacher Education and Teacher Behavior Research Project, is testing specific hypotheses flowing from procedures devised under the Mental Health in Teacher Education Project. The effects of different types of feedback, for example, will be examined. Experimental "feedback" teachers who have had test interpretations and/or seen their own films, and/or had psychological consultation, will be compared with "no feedback" control groups.

The Research and Development Center in Teacher Education which began operation in the fall of 1965 will attempt to devise methods of extending the procedures of these two earlier projects to lower class schools, to rural schools, and to bi-cultural schools.

Can Teachers Be Therapists?

If by therapists we mean persons able to take responsibility for the treatment of deep disturbances, the answer is probably no. If we mean persons who can contribute to the treatment of disturbed children and the growth of all children with problems, the answer is equivocal. Teachers can be persons in whose presence difficult changes in attitudes and feelings come a little easier. As one child put it, "She likes me back." And when love is not enough, teachers can become psychologically sophisticated, knowing that some problems have one solution, some have many solutions, and some have none now.

Young teachers can and do use their knowledge of what is natural in the classroom to help children in deep and abiding ways. Some children need more help than any teacher can ever give, because, no matter how sound or sophisticated she may be, she has a whole class to consider and cannot allow the acting-out behavior which may have to precede improvement. Some symptoms need the emotional equivalent of staying in bed.

When a person is sick and cannot function in his usual environment, a protected environment in which he can function, the sickroom, is provided for him until he is better. He is kept from his work, from catching a bus or even from providing for his own biological needs. The teacher, just because she is in a classroom, cannot provide this kind of therapy for a child. The classroom is the child's office or shop, the place where he must meet certain minimal demands.

The teacher can, however, create a therapeutic climate in the classroom. When children are referred to professional persons for individual help, teachers can become aware of the goals of therapy and assume a posture toward the child which is consistent with professional recommendations. They can do this more ingeniously than any psychologist or psychiatrist simply because they are aware of the resources of the classroom. A psychologist might feel that a certain child needs to "explore the limits," but not think of letting the same child paint the sky in a class mural. A psychologist might feel another child needs a "masculine model" but not know which children's books on a certain reading level provide such a model. Tense children need outlets, we say, but it was a classroom teacher who gave a child a piece of putty to knead instead of nagging him about his constantly tapping a pencil on his desk. Teachers even utilize acute discipline problems as learning situations. Witness the dismantling of the smoke bomb to see what effects irritating gases have on human tissue.

When such ingenious procedures are recounted, teachers who are already overwhelmed by the complexity of the classroom situation may protest that there is not time for all this extra work. We submit that the most time and energy consuming activity of all is uncertainty. If one can only feel some certainty about a course of action, the course of action can be integrated into the day's work. If children are putting on a play anyway, it is probably less time consuming to assign parts which go with the grain. It is certainly less stressful for a teacher to have a willing child than an unwilling one.

How can a teacher, without other help, formulate a course of action about which she feels some certainty? These student teachers were taught successive hypothesis testing. They formed a notion based on some kind of observation. In the classroom a teacher may wonder why one boy is slow. She might have the notion that he is slow because he feels guilty about any little mistake he makes. The teacher checks this out by different kinds of observations. For example, she asks the children to write a story about a broken lamp and he tells about a little boy who is falsely accused of breaking a lamp. The hypothesis is supported. The student teacher might seek further support of it by other observations. On the other hand, the child might say he smashed and smashed the lamp to bits, so the student teacher might form the new hypothesis that he is angry, and then make successive observations until one day she feels some certainty about this new hypothesis. She will never be absolutely certain until it is possible to predict exactly what a child will do and no one yet can do this. But she will be coming closer and closer to an understanding of the child.

Knowing another person is exploring a strange country. One must

first be allowed into this new country and then guided around it by its owner. On the basis of previous experience in other countries, one draws conclusions about what is seen, sometimes true and sometimes false, and they must be checked constantly. For example, one might see a palm tree and hypothesize that this is a tropical country, warm and sunny. But if its owner wants to, he can say "That's just a potted palm I keep for show. Come a little further and see what is really here."

Such exploration is not always pleasant. There are dragons and stinging jelly fish as well as potted palms. But it is above all learning, and to those who have chosen children as their life's concern, it can be a deeply rewarding journey.